

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 5266

JAKARTA FOR CHAIRMAN WOLFF

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (WOLFF, LESTER L.)
SUBJECT: CODEL WOLFF: MEETINGS WITH PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN
MINISTER AND MINISTER OF DEFENSE

THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNCLEARED SUMMARY OF CODEL WOLFF'S CON-
VERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA, FOREIGN MINISTER
HATOYAMA AND JDA MINISTER MIHARA.

SUMMARY: IN MEETINGS WITH CODEL WOLFF DURING TOKYO VISIT APRIL
9-10, TOP GOJ LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH ASSURANCES
RECEIVED DURING RECENT WASHINGTON SUMMIT THAT US WOULD REMAIN
COMMITTED AS ASIAN POWER, AND INDICATED JAPAN PREPARED TO GO
ALONG WITH KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL PLANS ON UNDERSTANDING ROK
FORCES WOULD BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED AND US WOULD STAND BY
ITS SECURITY COMMITMENT. PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA, FOREIGN
MINISTER HATOYAMA AND JDA MINISTER MIHARA ALL EMPHASIZED
ABIDING JAPANESE INTEREST IN SUSTAINING BLANCE OF FORCES ON
KOREAN PENINSULA; THEY WERE RELUCTANT TO TAKE POSITION ON
HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AS IT APPLIED THERE, NOTING SYMPATHY FOR
PRESIDENT CARTER'S VIEWS BUT AN UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDE THAT
ROK GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES ARE INFLUENCES BY CONTINUING
NORTH-SOUTH TENSION. GOJ LEADERS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN
ABILITY WORK OUT US-JAPAN BILATERAL TRADE PROBLEMS, AND INDI-
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CATED A WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE MORE AID TO SEA. THEY WERE
PLEASED TO BE ASURED THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION INTENDS FULL
CONSULTATIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AFFECTING JAPAN, AND PRIME
MINISTER FUKUDA CONTRASTED TOUGH SOVIET POSITION IN FISHERY
NEGOTIATIONS WITH WARM PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP HE FELT HAD BEEN
ESTABLISHED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. END SUMMARY.

1. PM FUKUDA IN MEETING WITH CODEL WOLFF SHORTLY AFTER ITS ARRIVAL APRIL 8 REFLECTED HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH SOVIET FISHERY NEGOTIATIONS BY NOTING IN HIS OPENING REMARKS THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE THE EASY SORT OF CONVERSATION WITH THE SOVIETS THAT HE HAD ENJOYED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. HE SAID CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA, WHO NORMALLY WOULD HAVE SAT IN ON DISCUSSION WITH CODEL, HAD MET WITH KOSYGIN, AS RESULT OF WHICH AGRIC MIN SUZUKI HAD ALSO LEFT FOR TOKYO PREVIOUS DAY TO RENEW THE FISHING TALKS.

2. CHAIRMAN WOLFF EXPLAINED THAT THE FOCUS OF HIS MISSION WAS TO EXAMINE THE SCOPE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIA. FUKUDA SAID NATIONS IN AREA HAD FELT UNEASY AFTER US WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM, FEARING DOMINO EFFECT, BUT WHILE THERE WERE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, AND THAILAND HAD HAD SOME DOMESTIC POLITICAL TURMOIL, BY AND LARGE SEA COUNTRIES ARE ACHIEVING A SIGNIFICANT MEASURE OF POLITICAL STABILITY. SEA NATIONS ARE OBSERVING WITH INTEREST AND CONCERN WHAT NEW ASIAN POLICIES THE US MIGHT ADOPT. PHILIPPINES, INDONESIA, SINGAPORE AND THAILAND HAD ALL REQUESTED THE PM TO COMMUNICATE TO PRESIDENT CARTER THEIR DESIRE THAT THE US RETAIN ITS COMMITMENTS IN ASIA AND RETAIN A MILITARY PRESENCE THERE. PM SAID HE SHARED THIS CONVICTION, AND WAS GLAD TO HEAR FROM PRESIDENT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN BASIC US POLICY.

3. FUKUDA SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT A FORMAL INVITATION TO ASEAN SUMMIT IN KL IN AUGUST, BUT HOPED TO HAVE SOME SORT OF INVITA-
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TION WHICH WOULD ENABLE HIM TO BE PRESENT AND MEET WITH ASEAN CHIEFS OF STATE OUTSIDE OF THE CONFERENCE PROPER. HE NOTED THAT DESPITE AFTERMATH OF OIL SHOCK, SINGAPORE, KOREA AND TAIWAN IN PARTICULAR ARE DOING WELL. JAPAN COULD NOT PROJECT MILITARY POWER INTO THE REGION BUT WOULD LIKE TO COOPERATE WITH SELF-RELIANCE EFFORTS IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. ASKED BY CHAIRMAN WOLFF WHETHER ASEAN MIGHT TAKE ON A MILITARY ROLE NOW THAT SEATO HAD CEASED TO FUNCTION, THE PM SAID HE DOUBTED THIS WOULD HAPPEN.

4. TURNING TO KOREA, FUKUDA SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THE US WOULD NOT WITHDRAW IN SUCH A WAY AS TO UPSET THE MILITARY BALANCE THERE. PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASSURED HIM THAT THE US WOULD STRENGTHEN ROK FORCES AND THIS IS THE CORRECT APPROACH. IN REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS, PRESIDENT PARK HAS TAKEN MEASURES TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL UNITY THAT JAPAN DOES NOT LIKE, BUT THIS IS A DELICATE ISSUE FOR JAPAN, WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY RULED KOREA, AND JAPAN DOES NOT WISH TO COMMENT PUBLICLY ON PRESIDENT PARK'S DOMESTIC POLICIES.

5. CONGRESSWOMAN MEYNER NOTED THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN HER DISTRICT, CALLING PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO ANTICIPATED LAY-OFFS BY WESTINGHOUSE UNDER PRESSURE FROM JAPANESE COLOR TV IMPORTS. THE CONGRESSWOMAN ASKED FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH TRADE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE SUCH EFFECTS IN THE U.S. PM RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT WHILE TRADE WAS \$5 BILLION IN JAPAN'S FAVOR IN 1976, INVISIBLES FAVORED THE US AND THE NET IMBALANCE WAS \$3 BILLION. HE THOUGHT 1976 WAS AN EXCEPTIONAL YEAR, AND NOTED THAT OVER A 3-5 YEAR PERIOD A ROUGH BALANCE WAS MAINTAINED. US RECOVERY LAST YEAR HAD RESULTED IN INCREASED DEMAND, BUT HE THOUGHT TRADE WOULD NOW MOVE TOWARD A MORE NORMAL SITUATION. THERE WERE MANY US ENTERPRISES IN JAPAN, AND ONE ANSWER IS FOR MORE JAPANESE ENTERPRISES TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN THE US. AS JAPAN MOVED TO FULFILL ITS 6.7 PER CENT GROWTH-RATE GOAL, DEMAND FOR US IMPORTS WOULD INCREASE.

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6. CONVERSATION ENDED, AS IT HAD BEGUN WITH DISCUSSION OF FISH. CONGRESSMAN BIAGGI ASKED WHETHER JAPAN WAS ENCOUNTERING PROBLEMS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR 200-MILE EXCLUSIVE FISHING ZONE. FUKUDA SAID THERE ARE NO GREAT PROBLEMS. THE REAL PROBLEM IS WITH SOVIETS, ESPECIALLY IN WATERS AROUND THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES.

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7. CHAIRMAN WOLFF OPENED THE CONVERSATION WITH JDA MINISTER MIHARA BY NOTING THAT THE PERSISTENCE OF THREATS REQUIRES A CONTINUATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND BY SOLICITING THE MINISTER'S VIEWS ON AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST IN THIS REGARD, BEGINNING WITH KOREA. MIHARA REPLIED THAT JAPAN APPRECIATED PAST US CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASIAN SECURITY, AND THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KOREAN PENINSULA IN THIS CONTEXT IS WELL KNOWN. PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SAID THAT HE WOULD PROCEED WITH WITHDRAWALS IN CONSULTATION WITH JAPAN AND ROK, WHILE BUILDING UP ROK CAPABILITIES. MIHARA ADDED THAT THE US DESIRE TO MAKE FINANCIAL SAVINGS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE TIMING AND SCALE OF WITHDRAWALS, HOWEVER, IS CRUCIAL AS WILL BE EFFORTS TO CREATE STABILITY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA THROUGH RESUMPTION OF DIRECT TALKS. JAPAN ALSO SHOULD MAKE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY IN KOREA THROUGH ECONOMIC AID TO THE ROK AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE. MIHARA WAS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, ABOUT THE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF WITHDRAWAL MORE THAN ITS MILITARY IMPACT, AND SAID THAT THE US AND JAPAN SHOULD THINK ABOUT ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF MAINTAINING THE BALANCE AFTER WITHDRAWAL.

8. WHEN CHAIRMAN WOLFF NOTED THAT THE DOMESTIC POLICIES OF PRESIDENT PARK MIGHT TEND TO CREATE INTERNAL INSTABILITY, WHICH WAS AS MUCH A CONCERN AS EXTERNAL STABILITY, AND THAT

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THIS WAS AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR IN INFLUENCING PRESIDENT CARTER'S VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, MIHARA SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN ABOUT KOREAN DEMOCRACY. LIKE FUKUDA, HOWEVER, MIHARA NOTED KOREAN SENSITIVITIES TO WHATEVER JAPAN MIGHT SAY. THE ROK HAD EXPENDED A GREAT EFFORT IN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, MIHARA SAID, AND IN GENERAL THE VIEWS OF ROK GOVERNMENT ARE "UNDERSTANDABLE." MIHARA THOUGHT THAT PRESIDENT PARK AND OTHER LEADERS ARE AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, BUT HE HOPED THAT THE CODEL WOULD "UNDERSTAND NATIONAL KOREAN CHARACTER."

9. CHAIRMAN WOLFF NOTED THAT AMONG THE NATIONS OF ASIA THERE IS SOME CONCERN THAT THE U.S. WAS FACING TOWARD EUROPE. HE WISHED TO ASURE THE MINISTER THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE AND POINTED OUT THAT THE CODEL MISSION ITSELF SYMBOLIZED THE CONTINUED US INTEREST IN ASIA. MIHARA SAID JAPAN DID NOT DOUBT THAT INTEREST AND APPRECIATED PAST CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE IN ASIA. ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ROK HAD BROUGHT STABILITY AND THE ROK WOULD CONTINUE TO GROW AS DEMOCRATIC NATION. HE REALIZED THAT JAPAN HAS AN OBLIGATION TO WORK TOWARD THIS END AND HOPED THE US IN TURN WILL NOT FEEL THAT DEMOCRATIC GROWTH IN KOREA IS STYMIED.

10. IN MEETING WITH FONMIN HATOYAMA, CHAIRMAN WOLFF NOTED THAT THE FACT THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD VISITED JAPAN SOON AFTER THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THAT HIS COMMITTEE'S FIRST STOP WAS IN JAPAN ARE INDICATIVE OF THE HIGH REGARD IN WHICH THE U.S. HOLDS JAPAN. IN CONNECTION WITH THE MISSION OF HIS DELEGATION, THE CHAIRMAN SOUGHT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN ASIA, PARTICULARLY SOUTHEAST ASIA, STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF JAPAN AND THE U.S. WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE COMMON PURPOSES. HE EMPHASIZED THAT BOTH PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE CONGRESS ARE WORKING TOGETHER IN A DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES AND AVOID UNILATERAL DECISIONS.

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11. HATOYOMA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE WARM WELCOME HE AND THE PRIME MINISTER HAD RECEIVED DURING THEIR VISIT TO WASHINGTON WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS MOST VALUABLE. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF JAPANESE BILATERAL AID PROGRAMS, HE NOTED THAT OVER ONE-HALF OF JAPAN'S ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS DIRECTED TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND POINTED TO MATCHING US-JAPAN AID IN INDONESIA. HATOYAMA AGREED THAT JAPAN AND THE U.S. SHOULD ADDRESS JOINTLY EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REMARKED THAT MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS ARE ESPECIALLY USEFUL IN MANAGING LDC LIABILITIES WHICH ARE BECOMING A SERIOUS PROBLEM. HE REFERED TO THE FORTHCOMING LONDON SUMMIT AND THE NEXT MEETING OF CIEC AS OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE U.S. AND JAPAN TO COOPERATE IN ACHIEVING MUTUAL OBJECTIVES.

12. CONGRESSWOMAN MEYNER ASKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHETHER HE FELT THERE ARE SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S. IN AN EFFORT TO SOLVE MUTUAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE INVOLVED IN TRADE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT HE IS CONFIDENT THAT TRADE PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE INVOLVED IN COLOR TV EXPORTS CAN BE SOLVED THROUGH CONSULTATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE REFERRED TO THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR REPROCESSING WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS THE MOST SERIOUS CURRENT PROBLEM AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SOLUTION CAN BE REACHED WHICH WOULD ACCOMMODATE BOTH U.S. AND JAPANESE INTERESTS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT JAPAN IS VERY MUCH CONCERNED TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE ITS NUCLEAR ENERGY R&D PROGRAMS.

13. CONGRESSMAN BIAGGI ASKED FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S ASSESSMENT OF JAPANESE FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER EMPHASIZED THE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT PROBLEM POSED BY THE SOVIET INSISTANCE ON INCLUDING THE FOUR DISPUTED NORTHERN ISLANDS IN ITS 200-MILE EXCLUSIVE

FISHERIES ZONE POINTING OUT THAT JAPANESE FISHERMEN HAVE
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TRADITIONALLY FISHED THE WATERS AROUND THESE ISLANDS. HE SAID
THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE PROCEEDING VERY SLOWLY AND DECLINED
TO HAZARD A GUESS AS TO THEIR ULTIMATE OUTCOME.
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